NATIONAL REVIEW

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March 23, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Committee that Lost its Reason

More "Interlocking Subversion"?

L. BRENT BOZELL

Fifth-Amendment Professors

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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JAMES BURNHAM · WILLIAM H. PETERSON · SAM M. JONES

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For the Record

Senator Knowland has warned President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles that any attempt by the Administration to send aid to Poland will arouse considerable Congressional opposition. "If we start giving to Poland," says Knowland, "it will be difficult to discriminate against Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary." But Senator Jack Kennedy insists it would be "brutal" to withhold aid from Poland. Eric Johnston, head of the International Development Advisory Board (which recently came out in favor of continued foreign aid), adds that U.S. aid to the Iron Curtain countries "is essential if we are to win the satellites over to the United States."

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has warned that the supposed break of the American Communist Party with Moscow is just window dressing, designed to thwart federal prosecution.

Former Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah, newly appointed national chairman of "For America," will call, in a nation-wide tour, for the outright abolition of the federal income tax and for the end of "the reckless spending and extravagant waste" of the Eisenhower Administration.... A spokesman for the American Banking Association has told Congress that an expanded government housing program will serve only to inflate construction costs.

The Illinois PTA, and a host of the state's labor and liberal organizations, blasted Governor Stratton of Illinois for opposing federal aid for education.... In the House hearing on the federal school bill, six state Chambers of Commerce, two farm bureaus and one taxpayers association testified against the Administration program.

The President's difficulty in throwing off a minor illness, his frequently interrupted work schedule and the high pressure build-up of Mr. Nixon have revived last summer's Washington campaign rumor that Mr. Eisenhower accepted renomination with the implicit understanding that he might resign after about a year of his second term.

Representative Miller of Nebraska, in a letter to the President, has suggested three ways of cutting the federal budget: 1. adopt the Hoover Commission's recommendations; 2. slash foreign aid; 3. cut federal employment, now up to 2.4 million, by 10 per cent.

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The WEEK

● The UN Assembly's special committee on defining "aggression" has adjourned without agreement. The committee's sixty-six page report concluded: "In view of the obvious divergence of views, it was decided not to put any existing draft (of definition) to the vote." And a wise conclusion it was—though it didn't go far enough. It is impossible to define "aggression" for the simple reason that the pursuit of one nation's vital interest will be considered, and not even insincerely, aggression by another nation. The UN, however, was founded with the express purpose of preventing "aggression." To be consistent, the UN Assembly's special committee on defining "aggression" should of course have amended its self-explanatory conclusion by suggesting that the UN be dissolved.

● Mr. Eisenhower's enemies have long contended that he is a hater with a very long wind. They adduce as evidence of this such facts as that he has not seen Mr. Truman since Inauguration Day of 1953 (when Eisenhower refused him the traditional courtesy of entering the White House to escort him out to the car); that he refused last November to watch on television Adlai Stevenson's statement conceding him the election; that he has not consulted General MacArthur, not having forgiven him his backing Senator Taft in 1952. Now, with what struck us as an unseemly relish, Mr. Hagerty has announced that the White House guest list will include every member of Congress except Senator McCarthy. It is regrettable that the President's enduring animosity cannot be directed towards such persons as Marshal Zhukov or Marshal Tito.

● There is something nerve-racking in the efforts of apologists for Modern Republicanism to dodge the rhetoric they hurled years ago against the statism of the New Deal. They hurled it so hard, back in the days of Roosevelt and Truman, that it is still in flight, and it keeps them dancing around frantically to avoid being hit by it. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks told 1,200 Republican women last week that Modern Republicanism is "the traditional party philosophy"—in "modern dress," to be sure, but decidedly not "something brand new, dreamed up recently—as some folks think—by maverick stargazers." To begin with (Mr. Weeks pressed his case), most federal spending goes for defense. For the rest, "we'll not go very far in reversing the trend in government spending if everyone says 'cut the other fellow's budget, but don't touch mine.'" Question one: Whose benefit, then, is Modern Republicanism proposing to cut? Question two: What did the New Deal have that the New Republicanism hasn't got —except *joie de vivre,* and an intense pride in itself? Question three: What is it us folks *are* supposed to think? That Big Government is bad only if administered by Democrats?

● To everybody's surprise, including his own, Mr. Dave Beck has come home. What home will be for the Teamsters' boss, once the Senate Investigating Committee is through with him, is anybody's guess. But Mr. Beck has learned from the fate of another witness the Committee has entertained that the Lie Detector is no worse a gambling tool than any other—that, in other words, a man has a fighting chance to get away with a lie. This, of course, does not mean that NATIONAL REVIEW has any idea what Mr. Beck's testimony will be. But it is our hunch that Mr. Beck won't see Europe again for a long, long time—or that he'll see it *very* soon.

● A Southerner has called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a "tool for conniving Whites," an organization in which Negroes have been "strategically spotted in its hierarchy" merely for public relations purposes; an organization that lacks "sincere interest" in Negroes; that, indeed, might profitably be referred to as the "National Association for the Agitation of Colored Peoples." The voice was not that of John Kasper, or the Grand Vizier of the KKK, but of a Negro college professor who teaches at Alcorn College (for Negroes) in Mississippi. Professor Clennon King took on the NAACP in a series of articles for the Jackson *State Times.* The second installment was no sooner off the press than the president and student body of Alcorn demanded Professor King's resignation, on the grounds that he had involved the school in a "controversial situation." Professor King said he would most certainly *not* resign; whereupon the students said very well, then, they *would;* and off they went. There seems to be no constitutional or moral issue of minority rights involved the moment a compact minority chooses to discriminate against a dissenter.

● Two years ago the United Automobile Workers, extending the techniques applied in the struggle with the Kohler Company, tried to beat the Perfect Circle Corporation into abject submission. Perfect Circle, backed by a majority of its employees as well as its stockholders, stood firm against imported goon squads and the moral blackmail of UAW propa-

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gandists. The union putsch was defeated, and the company emerged intact. We note with pleasure that, in spite of last year's slump in the auto industry (to which it is a supplier), Perfect Circle's 1956 sales and profit totals were at a record high.

● Think of it! An eight-and-a-half-hour recording of an interview with Harry Truman in which he discusses "everything from his first memory to current politics"! Not, moreover, by just any old interviewer, but by Edward R. Murrow—who, however, states that he does not quite know yet what to do with it. (A ten-cent phone call will get Mr. Murrow a recommendation on this point from NATIONAL REVIEW.)

● One by one the Stalinists have been seeping back into the Polish Government. Yesterday it was Kazimerz Mijal, who took over as director of the Polish State Investment Bank, now it is Stanislaw Lapot, who is about to be named as Vice-Minister of Heavy Industry. Four short months ago these and other members of the Stalinist opposition to Polish First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka were taking it on the lam, supposedly for good. Now they have virtually made Gomulka a prisoner within his own Government. Can it be that they are permitting him to continue as First Secretary merely as bait for the grant-in-aid which a Polish delegation is currently trying to wangle out of Washington? We wouldn't give a nickel for Gomulka's future as a Polish "liberal," no matter which way the grant-in-aid decision goes.

● On the seventh and final day of their recent congress, Soviet artists promised the Central Committee of the Communist Party that their work would reflect "the beauty and grandeur of the ideals of Communism." Stalwart in the "drive for ideological purity," they repudiated "political indifference, estheticism, formalism, expressionism and neo-realism," and chose in their stead real-realism. However, lest the Central Committee fear that a realistic portrayal of life in the USSR will fail to "inculcate patriotic sentiments in the Soviet people," the congress explained that realism is the expression of life as it *will* be in the classless future society. What, we wonder, took them seven whole days?

● "Some of the richest men in Italy," an Italian reader informs us, "are Communists." Not, mind you, rich men who become Communists, but Communists who become rich men: the Togliattis, Longos, Di-Vittorios. They live "in expensive flats, with high-powered automobiles, mink coats and glittery jewelry for their wives and/or mistresses." Part of their money comes from direct Moscow subsidies; most of it, however, comes from commissions and levies upon Italian firms that trade with Soviet Russia. The conspicuous consumption of Italian comrades, our informant writes, gets on some people's nerves. "When parties of these wealthy proletarians are seen dining sumptuously in the most fashionable restaurants of Rome and other cities, mere workingmen . . . begin to ask themselves: 'How can they afford it? Who foots the bill?' " The answer to the second question is, of course: the consumers of the imported goods. The answer to the first: revolutionists are not all ascetics; some of them know that leading downtrodden workers is among the most remunerative forms of modern business enterprise.

● King Saud has moved into Nasriya Palace, which has just been completed at Saudi Arabia's new capital city, Riyadh. The palace, with its 200-foot-long dining room, vast audience chambers, private mosque, and black porcelain king-sized bathroom, cost $28 million. The cost of upkeep will be formidable, but couldn't U.S. foreign aid be used for it?

● In a cogent letter to the *New York Times*, Mr. Mortimer Cohen has exposed what is probably the chief cause of our alarming lag in training scientists (which Dr. Edward Teller has recently declared will within a decade give Russia scientific ascendancy over us). "It is not [as the educationists say] a lack of interest that is blocking most of our high school students from the field when they enter college. It is lack of training in mathematics. Science requires a firm and strong basis in algebra and calculus." But serious training in high school mathematics demands the kind of objective discipline and "competitive" grades (including plenty of failures) that are anathema to the prevailing cult of Progressive Education.

The Blown Bubble

Inflated with ten thousand hours worth of gaseous rhetoric, the UN stepped up to take command of Gaza. And Nasser told it to step right down again. The State Department, according to the reports, covered its collective face with surprise and dismay.

Nasser will have done us his first service if he succeeds in teaching us, and our President, the absurdity of the UN's pretensions to the role of world savior. In dealing with international problems of substance, the UN is either a phony or a subterfuge: either a bubble that a Nasser can break at a touch; or a mere front for the serious policy of one of the major member nations. In the case of Gaza, Washington has no policy; Washington will not permit Britain or France to have a policy; and Moscow's policy is to provoke a maximum of trouble. The UN, in Gaza's case, is therefore just a bubble, capable of nothing except blowing soap in our eyes.

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The President and the UN

Since Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal Company, and particularly during the UN Assembly session that has just ended, President Eisenhower has been conducting what might be called a United Nations foreign policy. The American government, according to its public account, is concerned only with upholding "the principles of the Charter" and carrying out faithfully the decisions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Professor Hans Morgenthau, in a brilliant article published by the *New Republic,* cut through a great deal of nonsense by observing that *the UN is not a policy but a procedure.* The UN may be an embryonic world government, as some hope and others fear; but at present it is not a government of any kind. The UN has no taxing power, no autonomous armed force of its own, and only a few acres of land. It does not have a coherent doctrine or even a program. The "principles of the Charter" are too vague to constitute a program or a policy, and are interpreted by each member nation according to its own predilections.

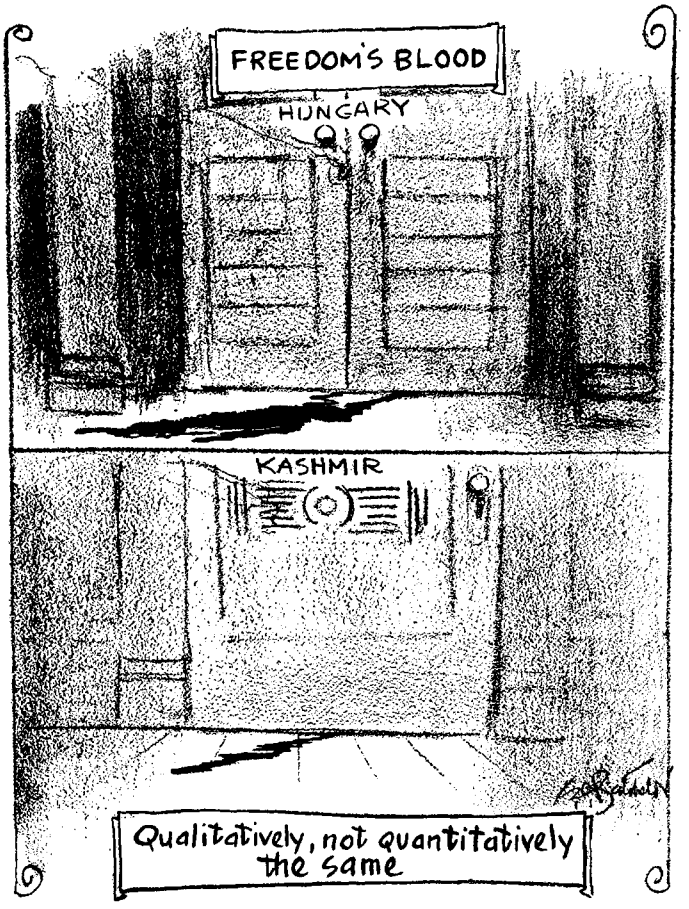
The UN really amounts to a continuous international conference, a kind of generalized and permanent Congress of Vienna. Within this conference there are several more or less fixed voting blocs, along with looser, *ad hoc* alliances.

There is no "UN policy" on the Mideast, Eastern Europe or anything else. There are only the policies of individual members and groups of members. One such policy may prevail in the UN's parliamentary machinery, but even then the UN as such has no power to enforce it except as individual members may choose to comply. The nominally UN armies in Korea and now in Egypt are only aggregates of American, Colombian, Yugoslav, French, Norwegian and whatever units, each ultimately responsible to its separate sovereign government—as Ethiopia sharply proved when it unilaterally withdrew its contingent from Korea.

If we accept the UN for what it is, we can then ask intelligibly whether it is to the advantage of the United States to follow the "UN procedure"—that is, to carry out an American policy *through* the UN mechanism.

The UN does provide 1) a line of communication among the member nations, and 2) a forum in which any nation may publicize its own views and policies. These two features can of course be of some value to a nation that makes effective use of them.

But we must ask: is it actually possible for the United States to carry out its foreign policy by using the UN procedure? Generally speaking, it is *not* possible on a matter of importance (except by an accident, such as the Soviet Union's absence from the Security Council at the time of the Korean crisis).



In the Security Council, the Soviet Union has the veto power. It therefore follows, by plain mathematics, that only those policies to which the Soviet Union has no basic objection can get through the procedure of the Security Council. And the critical issues of world politics are precisely those on which there are basic differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The situation in the Assembly is no more useful for the United States. Positive Assembly action requires a two-thirds majority of the eighty member nations. Thus 27 nations can stop Assembly action. The Afro-Asian bloc has 26 votes (plus or minus a couple on occasion). Thus this bloc plus the Soviet bloc, or the Afro-Asian bloc alone if there are (as there usually are) a few abstentions, has a veto power in the Assembly.

The UN mathematics therefore inescapably decrees that American policy can successfully operate through the UN only so far as it is consistent with the policy of the Soviet Union and the Afro-Asian bloc; or, put more flatly, *only by being subordinated to the Soviet-Bandung nations.*

This is the iron logic of the UN situation, a logic that has governed and continues to govern all the UN actions—and failures to act—in the Mideast and Hungarian crises. The UN procedure as currently

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utilized by the President and his Secretary of State, far from being a way in which the United States can furnish responsible world leadership, causes the United States to be dragged behind a double bloc that contains the most criminal and the least civilized nations of the world.

It is Moscow, not Washington, that has a rational approach to the UN. Moscow uses the UN procedure for what the UN really provides—"lines of communication" and "a forum." When lucky enough to get a UN vote for a Soviet policy, Moscow also uses the UN to smite her enemies. When the UN vote goes the other way (as it did, say, on Hungary), Moscow doesn't fret but simply disregards it. The Communists, after all, have not undergone a fifty year Liberal's education on how to commit national suicide.

Presidential Games

It is the responsibility of the House of Representatives to initiate money bills; and that is that. However irresponsibly the Administration behaves, there can be no justifying a failure by Congress to swoop down on the Eisenhower budget with dispatch, and with a meat axe.

That is Congress' duty. But one can sympathize with the dilemma in which Congress finds itself. Mr. Eisenhower presented a budget that calls for sating the appetite of virtually every pressure group in the country. Then, indirectly, his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey, invited Congress to hack away. In effect, the Executive head maneuvered the Legislative into assuming total political responsibility for holding back Alms from the Needy. Congress understandably feels that the President should have used his position of leadership to dramatize the unsoundness of the demands of the nation's statists and inflationists.

And now a further complication: the President excused his budget, at the moment he presented it, by saying that however exorbitant it appeared he knew no way around it, given the fact that it clearly reflected the will of the people—and who am I, obedient servant to the public (he said in effect) to frustrate that will? Whereupon an extraordinary thing happened. The entire nation has become inflamed over the palpably inflationary nature of the budget. The statements by Mr. Herbert Hoover and Mr. George Humphrey have had, evidently, a profound effect. Editorial writers have translated the meaning of the budget to the people, and the people have responded with the greatest volume of mail since General MacArthur was recalled in 1951. It now becomes clear that in drafting the budget the Eisenhower team was bending not to the pressure of the people, but to the pressures of interest groups and centralist ideologues.

What will come of it all? We don't know. But we know this: that the much-vaunted, supra-political prestige of Dwight Eisenhower might, and certainly should, suffer a resonant setback.

Appeasement Is Not Inevitable

Under its demagogic President Sukarno, the 3,000 island Republic of Indonesia has been heading toward Communism along a route paralleling that taken by Dr. Benes in Czechoslovakia.

Sukarno, basing himself on Java, the most heavily populated of the islands, began by setting up a centralized regime in violation of the agreed plan for federation, with a kind of local autonomy, that was to have replaced Dutch rule. Assured of his benevolent non-interference, the Indonesian Communist Party expanded to a point where it was able to win 25 per cent of the votes in the 1955 election. Sukarno then forced out the anti-Communist Premier, Mohammed Hatta, and replaced him with the more pliant Ali Sastroamidjojo. Next, two months ago, Sukarno called for an end to "Western style democracy" and for a "new conception" authoritarian regime in which the Communists would participate—that is, would be in the classic united front position from which they could go on to absorb all power.

All, so far, as if out of a Communist textbook on "The Road to Power." But one factor had been overlooked by Sukarno and his unofficial Communist allies: that there were men in Indonesia with guts enough to stand up and say No. He might have guessed this from what had happened in the South Moluccas, where for several years a local group has maintained an autonomous "Republic of the South Moluccas." Now, confronted with the record of centralist oppression and the threat of Communist dominance in the Sukarno regime, the local autonomy movement has spread to Sumatra, Bali, Timor, Borneo and every other region of importance except Java itself. The demands are everywhere the same: an end to the oppressive political and economic centralism of the Jakarta government, which stifles and drains the local regions; no Communist participation in Indonesia's rule. The spontaneous movement of protest has been strong enough to enforce the resignation of Mr. Sastroamidjojo.

So far there has been little or no violence. Sukarno —who is a supple, shrewd politician—may, by excluding the Communists and bringing Hatta back as Premier, make a sufficient tactical retreat to forestall an immediate blowup. But this can only postpone, not settle, the issues. Eternal vigilance is the price of successful anti-Communism. Meanwhile the Indonesian dissidents have set a promising example for others—and for themselves—to follow.

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Education on Education

Marion Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, has accused the U.S. Chamber of Commerce of dealing in rabbit punches in its opposition to the President's program for Federal Aid to Education. The Secretary thinks the Chamber has drastically understated the need for new classrooms and has erred in arguing that advocates of federal aid are "attempting to establish the principle of federal financing . . . from which they can leap into actual control of the schools."

As to the quarrel about classroom deficiencies, the figures are not the important matter. What is important is who pays for what is needed. It seems entirely lost on Secretary Folsom that if tax money were to be left in the forty-eight states, the local school districts would have money to take care of their own educational needs. In answer to Mr. Folsom's second point, the one about the C. of C.'s fear that federal money must be followed by federal interference with the content of education, we have one simple question: Can Mr. Folsom offer a single instance where a federal subsidy to an educational institution has resulted in paying the salary of an anti-Keynesian economics professor or of a political scientist who is vocally committed against the idea of the Welfare State?

The 'Unfastidious' Position of Harvard

Several months ago we drew attention to the indefatigable Mr. Kenneth Robertson, who has been doing his level best to find out how come Dr. Robert Oppenheimer was appointed lecturer at Harvard University for the current year. Mr. Robertson has not come across the answer to his question, but his campaign has evoked a number of comments, almost all of them rasping and unfriendly, from the high and the mighty whom he has importuned along the way.

By all odds the wisest statement on the Oppenheimer appointment that we have seen was written by an alumnus of Harvard to an adversary of Mr. Robertson. We do not know the identity of the writer (we received a censored copy of the communication) but we take off our hats to a shrewd man and first-rate writer. Here are extracts from his analysis of the episode and the controversy:

> With all the fertile, complex and diverting philosophers of the world to choose from, Harvard must choose instead an atomic scientist. And having strayed a mile outside either Jamesiana or philosophy, it must choose a scientist with a confused record as a citizen and none whatever as a moralist. Why?
>
> Hardly any question of security is involved, as you point out. Oppenheimer may not really have those "basic defects of character" that a national board attributes to him. But is he really needed as a Harvard philosopher? Cannot our students and faculty get from his books all they need of a moralist who lies to a security board?
>
> I disagree with you and Judge Wyzanski [chairman of the Board of Overseers of Harvard] that Dr. Oppenheimer becomes eligible for a Harvard lectureship on morals because [Admiral Lewis Strauss voted to keep Oppenheimer on at Princeton] . . .
>
> For Strauss to sanction Oppenheimer to lead the Institute for Advanced Studies, after rejecting him as a security risk, is to me a precedent unfit for citation. If Gilbert and Sullivan were alive today, they would dispose of it neatly; so could Will Rogers. Let Princeton swallow it; I gag. . . .
>
> Now, if you will bear with me a little longer, I shall state the position as I read it, in contrast to yours:
>
> Harvard, like Princeton, has been mouse-trapped into a general maneuver at rebuilding Oppenheimer's damaged reputation. This purpose, if it were limited to protecting Oppenheimer's rights as a scientist, would do credit to the chivalry of either institution.
>
> But to protect Oppenheimer as a scientist is not enough for his friends. They want him made into a great administrative educator, and at Princeton they have succeeded in making him so. They want him also elevated into a seer on human ethics and morals, and are using Harvard as the pawn.
>
> Under ordinary circumstances Oppenheimer would have shared the decent obscurity of Henry Wallace. Like the gullible but gifted cornstalk, he would be recognized as a man who served his country capably in a narrow branch of science, but who was duped politically and came perilously near a disastrous betrayal in a broad matter of national safety and existence.
>
> Oppenheimer, like Wallace, would be permitted to withdraw awhile from public life, philosophy, ethics and youth guidance, to enjoy second thoughts and learn as we all do, from error and self-scrutiny.
>
> Wallace has chosen this modest course, but not Oppenheimer. He was ignominiously wrong about the major political issue of our time. But he still must have the right to direct and teach. And Harvard seems to feel it must provide it, or become a university of McCarthyites and anti-Dreyfusards.
>
> It is a foolish and unfastidious position for Harvard to generate. If Oppenheimer and his friends were endowed with as much taste as wilfulness, they and he would never have subjected Harvard—whose loyalty he tapped abundantly as an Overseer—to this repugnant dilemma.
>
> Oppenheimer, if he wishes to serve Harvard, can do so best by quietly resigning. I hope that his large ambitions outside his own fields do not require the petty martyrdom of an alumni scandal. This is a moment when Harvard's good name is more important than Oppenheimer's career.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

More "Interlocking Subversion"?

Senator Jenner of Indiana is an exponent of the "conspiracy theory" of history. For years he has addressed his thought and his oratory to the demise of U.S. institutions, and to the various hypotheses that might explain the process. The conclusion invariably drawn in Jenner's speeches: "*They* planned it that way."

Most of Bill Jenner's contemporaries give short shrift to the conspiracy theory. Perhaps they are right. Perhaps, twenty years from now, there will be perfectly satisfactory explanations as to how a country whose leaders professed devotion to constitutional government and the free enterprise system ended up a majoritarian, socialist state; how a sovereign nation, the mightiest power on earth, increasingly subordinated itself to One World rule despite daily vows by its leaders that national interests were their sole policy guide; how an avowedly anti-Communist government managed to lose round after round to the Soviet Union . . . History, that is to say, may find that U.S. leaders were only unintelligent, myopic and gutless; and once the proof of this is in hand, Bill Jenner will have to give up his thesis. Meanwhile, he will probably go on asking disturbing questions.

Last week Senator Jenner wondered out loud whether there was, perhaps, a common denominator between U.S. reversals in China, during the forties, and in the Middle East, during the fifties. He began by recalling General Wedemeyer's difficulties with the four State Department officers assigned to his China command in 1944-45. Wedemeyer had testified, Jenner said, that "if he had followed their advice, China would have fallen to the Communists long before it did; [for] their reports . . . were strongly slanted in favor of Communist aims, contrary to fundamental American policy and harmful to our fighting ally, the Nationalist government." The State Department officers in question: John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies, Raymond Ludden, John K. Emmerson.

Jenner assumed his colleagues were familiar with the Service and Davies cases; both men had been dismissed from the Department after a considerable congressional furor over their security status, initiated by Senator McCarthy. But what of the others?

Mr. Emmerson's Record

By way of background on Emmerson, he had filed a report late in 1944, recommending, Jenner said, that the U.S. "work with Susumu Okano and the Japanese People's Emancipation League, as it operated in Communist China, in making wartime and postwar American policy for Japan." Emmerson had written in his report that the League "*has an estimated membership of 450 Japanese prisoners in North and Central China. Its declared principles are democratic. It is not identified with the Communist Party.*"

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has since listed the Japanese People's Emancipation League as a "Communist organization." But more to the point, said Jenner, "any qualified observer" would have known, at the time, that an organization operating in Red China was Communist-controlled. The House committee has also, Jenner related, identified Mr. Okano as "a member of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Central Committee, chief of the Propaganda and Investigation Section, and director of the party school of the Communist Party of Japan."

Emmerson's memorandum, concretely, had urged that Mr. Okano and the League be used for "*a wide dissemination of democratic ideas, the creation of a powerful Japanese propaganda organization . . . and the stimulation of a force useful at the time of invasion and . . . for activity with the American pacification operations and with Military Government officials during the occupation.*"

Copies of the Emmerson memorandum, Jenner said, had been forwarded by John Davies to the State Department, to Harry Hopkins, and to Irving Friedman of the Treasury Department. Friedman relayed his copy to Harry Dexter White.

Why bring up past accounts? Because, the Senator advised his colleagues, "John K. Emmerson is today Counsellor of Embassy at Beirut, Lebanon."

There was further cause for concern. Another State Department officer, one Robert C. Strong, had been U.S. Consul-General in Taiwan in 1949, and he had been "responsible," Jenner said, "for a mass of erroneous intelligence reports out of Formosa, unfriendly to Nationalist China and helpful to the Communists." Strong had "insisted on keeping all other members of American intelligence agencies off the island of Formosa, including General Fortier, the representative of General MacArthur. . . ." The source of the Senator's information in this case was sworn testimony at the IPR hearings by Admiral Charles Cooke, former chief of staff of Admiral King. "Mr. Strong," Jenner added, " is now Counsellor of Embassy for the United States at Damascus, Syria."

Might we have here a sinister pattern? "I do not know," Jenner said, "how many of this group of State Department officials in China may [now] be . . . in the Middle East. . . . But I can tell you this: Raymond Ludden, whom General Wedemeyer included in the list of State Department officials who sought to help Red China, is today in the Office of Personnel of the State Department" —*i.e.*, presumably, in a position to influence the assignment of foreign service officers.

This week the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security will try to find some of the answers to Senator Jenner's questions. The task, what with the Executive Branch's rigorous insistence on the privacy of its intramural counsels, will not be easy. Luckily though, Mr. Emmerson himself happens to be in Washington; a direct confrontation might help clear the air.

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The Committee that Lost its Reason

The Committee for Cultural Freedom, now defunct, was never truly alive. It was more afraid of anti-Communism than of Communism. Here is documentary proof of the Committee's fatal dereliction

Late in February, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom suspended activities. Although five hundred of the nation's leading intellectuals adorned it, there was no money; not enough, evidently, to pay for a small office, a typist, and a full-time director, which is all the Committee needed for its business.

The American Committee for Cultural Freedom missed an opportunity to perform a signal service. It was a Committee that, through an impartial and relentlessly honest dispensation of services, might have commanded the respect of the entire country. The Committee was formed primarily to expose and protest against ravages upon civilized discourse practiced by Communists and fellow travelers. It remained, always, anti-Communist; but its reaction to certain domestic phenomena, Senator McCarthy in particular, was so frenzied as to cause it to lose its sense of balance, and to become an engine rather for the harassment of anti-Communism than Communism. Its passion led it, for example, to such undiscerning actions as the election of J. Robert Oppenheimer as its chairman an indecorous few weeks after Dr. Oppenheimer was denied a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission. The Committee had become less the arbiter of civilized controversy than the agent of sectarian political interest.

Having promulgated a genuinely useful code defining the ethics of controversy, the Committee found it politically impossible to apply that code impartially. Let McCarthy drop a dark innuendo, and the Executive Committee would meet with dispatch, vote censure, and McCarthy would stand condemned. But if Archibald MacLeish, or Elmer Davis, was guilty, the Committee was frozen in inaction, permitting itself, in lieu of the performance of duty, the kind of tergiversation that appears in Mrs. Diana Trilling's letter below.

We observe the Committee's demise by making public a correspondence that illuminates the cause of its disintegration. The correspondence speaks for itself. We publish it without malice. We have the highest personal regard for Mrs. Trilling and for most of the members of the Executive Committee. We mourn the formal passing of the Committee. But in terms of what it might have been, it died long ago.

The Polluters

[*The following editorial appeared in* NATIONAL REVIEW *of September 29, 1956. Copies of it were sent to the members of the Executive Committee of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom.*]

A full-page advertisement—reproduced in full, and free of charge, on this page [see p. 278]—has been appearing in recent weeks in various Liberal journals.

If this appeal had been issued by, say, Mayors Kelly and Nash, one might pass over it lightly. Just another, characteristically cynical, assumption of the vestments of righteousness by a couple of shady politicians who have never agonized over moral niceties. But here, *in flagrante*, are two professional moralizers, engaged in moralizing even while they commit offenses against decent controversy! They, and their retinues, are perhaps so blinded by the splendor of the cause they serve as to lose sight of what it is they have done. Let us, then, take them by the hand, and lead them through their appeal for political morality:

1. In labeling the advertisement "A Clean Politics Appeal" the authors imply that those candidates against whom Stengel and Church are running are guilty of unclean political behavior. There is no other construction. (And, incidentally, bear in mind, here and below, that Mr. Davis and Mr. MacLeish are professional verbalizers. Mr. Davis can mobilize words to say anything he means. Mr. MacLeish has even greater powers, for he can have them say anything he means and make it rhyme. So they are not to be excused on the grounds of awkwardness in the handling of words.)

a. Is Mr. Dirksen unclean? Does he fight dirty? We are not aware that he does, or even that Mr. Stengel has charged him with doing so. It is not relevant that *Time* magazine calls him oleaginous. The question is, is he unclean? If so, where is the demonstration?

b. What about Senator Welker? Who says *he* fights dirty? Is it unclean to pursue causes which in the opinion of Messrs. Davis and MacLeish have "little relation to Idaho or the national interest"? Certainly the appeal does not establish that he fights dirty—except by insinuation. *I.e.*, by **smear.**

2. Mr. Davis and Mr. MacLeish imply that only those who are "after a special subsidy, tariff, or paving contract" would back the two Republicans against the Democrats. No one, it is the gist of the Appeal, could vote for Dirksen and Welker out of a conviction that they would better serve the nation. Such a thought is presumably unclean.

3. A "small group of 'fat cats' . . . account for 95% of the $200,000,000 that will be spent on politics this year."

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ELMER DAVIS and ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

issue

A CLEAN POLITICS APPEAL

on behalf of:

FRANK CHURCH	RICHARD STENGEL
vs.	vs.
Herman Welker	Everett M. Dirksen

This advertisement was originally run as an experiment—a volunteer citizens' effort to test whether the informed public would actually do something about a situation it has often deplored, whether it would make a genuine effort to balance the flow of special interest money in politics. Thousands of your fellow Americans, responding from every state of the union, have made it a success. We know that you, too, will want to help.

IF you are after a special subsidy, tariff or paving contract, don't read any further. We're not your kind of people.

IF you are one of the small group of "fat cats" whose contributions will account for 95% of the $200,000,000 that will be spent on politics this year, stop right here. You don't need us to remind you of the importance of this election, or to suggest what you can do about it.

The fact is that candidates without access to wealthy supporters or special interest groups are gravely handicapped. Unfortunately, it is often the liberal and more independent candidates who have the least money, particularly in Congressional campaigning. That so many good men win anyhow is an indication of the importance of giving them at least the minimum necessary to make themselves known to the voters who must make the decision.

• • •

The outcome of the two contests for which we seek your support will do more to set the tone of national politics in the next two years than any others.

In Idaho, 32 year old ***Frank Church*** *(D) defeated Glen Taylor for the Democratic nomination and offers Idahoans their first opportunity in a decade to elect a well-balanced and responsible Senator. His opponent in the general election, erratic incumbent Senator Herman Welker, is noted for his hot pursuit of causes having little relation to Idaho or national interests.*

In Illinois, ***Richard Stengel*** *(D), frequently named by nonpartisan groups as an outstanding member of the Illinois Legislature, has an excellent chance of upsetting incumbent Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R) if he can come even close to matching Dirksen's campaign funds. Dirksen, whom Time magazine called "the Wizard of Ooze," is one of the most dispensable members of the Senate, and the prospect of his replacement by a young, vigorous and responsible challenger of Stengel's caliber is already attracting impressive Republican and Independent support in Illinois.*

• • •

THE continued success of this experiment—and very possibly the outcome of these elections—is up to ***you.*** Don't depend on other readers. Make ***your*** contribution ($100 — $5 — $3) as large as possible and send it, with the attached coupon, today!

ELMER DAVIS

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

Concerning contributions:

Checks or money orders should be made out to "A Clean Politics Appeal." Contributions may be earmarked; otherwise they will be divided equally between the two candidates. All funds collected from this appeal will go to the candidates. Administration costs are being paid by the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

A Clean Politics Appeal
Box 1163, Washington 13, D. C.

Messrs. Davis & MacLeish:

Enclosed is my contribution of $..... to A Clean Politics Appeal.

☐ Please divide it equally between the campaigns of Frank Church and Richard Stengel.

☐ Please earmark it as follows:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....State.....

PLEASE PRINT

T

Where were those figures assembled? Is a labor union a fat cat? Is a labor union a special interest?

It is as simple and uncomplicated as this. Messrs. Davis and MacLeish favor certain programs of social action which Messrs. Stengel and Church also favor. Therefore, Davis and MacLeish support them. But rather than solicit help for them by the humdrum expedient of calling attention to their political Liberalism, they tone up the contest as involving a fight between Corruption and Integrity, between the general welfare and private greed. That tactic is contemptible.

We are forwarding copies of the Appeal to the Committee for Cultural Freedom, which several years ago issued a statement on the ethics of controversy. We shall ask the Committee to measure this appeal against their standards, and let us have their judgment as to whether Messrs. Davis and MacLeish are observing the canons of fair debate. If not, we shall propose that the Committee formally censure them.

The Committee Sidesteps

October 3, 1956

Dear Mr. Buckley:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 21; also the copies of the NATIONAL REVIEW of September 29, 1956, in which you reprint the Davis-MacLeish "Clean Politics" appeal together with an editorial calling on the American Committee for Cultural Freedom to evaluate the Davis-MacLeish advertisement in terms of the criteria formulated in the Committee's statement on the Ethics of Controversy.

We are indeed flattered that you find the Committee's statement on the Ethics of Controversy provides a set of criteria by which to judge the Davis-MacLeish appeal.

We doubt, however, that it would be proper for a non-partisan Committee to evaluate a partisan document in this pre-election period, just as we should doubt the propriety of evaluating partisan material which appears in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW.

Thereby the Committee as such does not wish to be understood as passing any specific judgment of ap-

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proval or disapproval; although, of course, members of the Committee, as individuals, have every right, and are free, to express their personal views. The Board of Directors merely feels that in the tradition of pre-election politics, partisanship is a fact of American life; and that the cases mentioned do not constitute the kind of threat to cultural or political freedom which would warrant judgment by the Committee. We prefer to leave that task to the most appropriate court of appeal—the American citizen.

Sincerely yours,
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Norman Jacobs, Executive Director

Request for Clarification

October 10, 1956

Dear Mr. Jacobs:

Thank you for your letter.

Would you be good enough to put the following questions to the Committee, in the interest of clarifying the issues?

1. Is the Committee adopting the position that, as long as the offense against the ethics of controversy is committed by a partisan of a political movement, the offender is immune from criticism by the Committee? Or does the Committee merely mean, in this instance, that it will withhold judgment until after the election? If so, does this in turn mean that we can look forward to action by the Committee on the Clean Politics Appeal as soon as the election is over?

2. Is the Committee saying that, "partisanship" being "a fact of American life," relevant rules for conducting controversy are impossible of formulation?

3. Is the Committee taking the position that it will henceforward not pass judgment on the character of controversy except upon a demonstration of a clear and present "threat to cultural or political freedom"?

4. Is the Committee saying that the ultimate court of appeal on the ethics of controversy is the American citizen? If the people sanction violations of the Committee's code, is the code invalid? Does the Committee then, retract its judgment on Senator McCarthy—because the people of Wisconsin sustained him?

We should appreciate hearing from you at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,
WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Request Refused

October 17, 1956

Dear Mr. Buckley:

In reply to your letter of October 10, the Board of Directors has asked me to refer you once again to our original letter of October 3 which, it feels, speaks for itself.

Sincerely yours,
NORMAN JACOBS
Executive Director

Request Renewed

December 21, 1956

Dear Mr Jacobs:

Now that the heat of the election campaign is over, I request you to turn your attention once again to my letter asking for an elucidation of the Committee's position on the ethics of controversy.

To tell the truth, I found it difficult to understand the brusqueness of your letter of October 17. Obviously your letter of October 3 "speaks for itself"; my point is that it doesn't say enough. If the Committee hasn't passed judgment yet on whether such tactics as those used by Elmer Davis and Archibald MacLeish violated its code, would you specifically request the Committee, in behalf of the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW, for an advisory judgment. We would be glad to commit ourselves not to publish your answer, if that is a prerequisite to your cooperation. Very truly yours,
WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The Rationalization

January 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am sorry you found our letter of October 17 brusque. It was not meant to be; it was simply that the Committee felt it had nothing to add to its original letter of October 3, and that a lengthy discussion of the points raised in your letter of October 10 would be profitless. The Committee still does not see the point of such a discussion.

Let me briefly try to reformulate the point of view which motivated our first response. The Committee felt that it rendered a genuine service to the cultural community when it formulated and issued its statement on the Ethics of Controversy, and that this was a legitimate task for the Committee to undertake. However, it never contemplated that it would be called upon to serve as a court of judgment and to apply the principles elaborated in the Ethics of Controversy to transient issues of the contemporary scene. It has neither the time nor staff to do this, assuming it possessed the required wisdom.

Furthermore, it was felt that the partisan document upon which you called us to pass judgment was one of a great number—no better and no worse—issued during the campaign. For us, therefore, to comment on the one without similarly commenting on any number of others would have subjected us to the charge of partisanship and would have raised obvious problems in a committee which includes members of every democratic political affiliation. Moreover, in the case at hand, the content of the document is narrowly political, and the action requested outside our normal sphere of interest. I do not mean to imply that, were there to be a breach of the Ethics of Controversy of so significant a nature that it constituted a threat to cultural freedom—interpreting "cultural" in its broadest sense—we should hesitate to take a stand. Such was our view of the tactics employed by Senator McCarthy, and that is why we sponsored the publication of the book, *McCarthy and the Communists*. In the case at issue, we do not feel these considerations apply—hence our refusal to accede to your request for a judgment in this situation.

Sincerely yours,
DIANA TRILLING, Chairman
Board of Directors

An Executive Committee Member Dissents

January 15, 1957

Dear Diana:

I want to disassociate myself from the position taken in the draft of a letter to Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr. dated January 11, 1957 and prepared for your signature.

You may recall that at the time Mr.

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Buckley's original letter on this subject was received and came before our Board of Directors for discussion, I bespoke a minority point of view, opposing both the form and the substance of the response it was decided we make to his communication. Some of my colleagues on the Board expressed themselves on that occasion as believing that Mr. Buckley's inquiry of us was a political gambit, motivated by a desire to embarrass men who were trying to defeat candidates for the U.S. Senate whom Mr. Buckley and his magazine were supporting during the then current 1956 election campaign. In other words, those of such a mind maintained that Mr. Buckley's inquiry was not substantively serious and should not be taken seriously by us.

I was not interested in Mr. Buckley's motives, nor am I now, when some of my colleagues will have to find another explanation for his reiterating the inquiry after the political campaign is ended. I am, however, extremely interested in the question he raises; both as it applies to Messrs. Davis and MacLeish, and as it applies to our organization's responsibilities toward those ideas we officially advance in the publication, The Ethics of Controversy.

Now Messrs. Davis and MacLeish are not to be dismissed as two among a deplorably overlarge number of partisans who are professionally irresponsible and whose irresponsibility during election campaigns is licensed by custom to exceed all bounds. The identity, attainments, and eminence of these two men are as intellectuals—as is Mr. Buckley's. All three of these men are part of that particular community which the American Committee for Cultural Freedom represents and to which it speaks. They are—all three—exactly the kind of people for whom we hoped The Ethics of Controversy would have real cogency.

To be sure, it would be egregiously presumptuous for our organization to set itself up as arbiter of the conduct of all controversies in which intellectuals engage. But, so far as I am aware, no one has asked us to do that. Mr. Buckley, alone, has done us the signal honor of asking whether The Ethics of Controversy is susceptible of application by seeking our judgment on whether a document written and circulated by Messrs. Davis and MacLeish observes the canons of fair debate as we have tried to define those canons.

I believe that Mr. Buckley is entitled to something more responsive than the draft of January 11, which, according to the Office, the Administrative Committee has already approved. I think that our commitment to ethical standards in intellectual debate and debate between intellectuals is a moral incumbency upon us to be more responsive.

To come to the point: I believe we should clearly say, as we seem largely to agree, that the document authored by Messrs. Davis and MacLeish is violative of those canons of ethics we should like to see observed in controversy. Others are free to conclude that it may be an excusable or inconsequential violation. And we are free to deal with other such questions, properly put before us, as we see fit. And as for Mr. Buckley, he is free to make whatever use he cares to of our opinion—knowing that some day another intellectual may seek from us an application of these standards to a work by Mr. Buckley.

The minutes of our Board of Directors meeting for October 1, 1956 report a discussion of this matter under the heading, "Reply to Buckley." The last sentence in that report reads, "Mr. Pitzele ascertained that he is not thereby prevented (by the Board's action on the matter) from sending a private letter to NATIONAL REVIEW." Up to this point I have not availed myself of that ascertainment. If, however, the draft of January 11 is posted to Mr. Buckley, I intend to make my dissent known by sending him a copy of this letter.

Sincerely yours,
MERLYN S. PITZELE

Kreuttner

"The way to fight Communism is to stamp out McCarthyism!"

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Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

The Post-Hungarian Cabal

Now that Khrushchev, in his interview with Mr. Alsop, has defined the strategic objective of Soviet foreign policy—the neutralization of Germany in exchange for Soviet "withdrawal" from Eastern Europe—West Germany's public opinion is maturing fast. Not even Herr Ollenhauer dares speak any more of disarmament.

And yet, while West Germany's determination to stay firmly allied with the West is stronger than ever, the policy-making circles in Bonn seem nervous and insecure. Dr. von Brentano's sudden trip to Washington was far more than just a rebuttal to Ollenhauer's preceding propaganda junket (on which this rather unbelievable candidate for Dr. Adenauer's job tried to sell the U.S. on himself) Dr. von Brentano did, no doubt, whatever he could to counteract Ollenhauer's salesmanship. But his real assignment was to find out whether Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles were indeed involved (as Europeans were assuming) in a fateful cabal to "settle" with the Soviet Union over the dead body of West Germany.

There was for a while in Europe, too, not only in America, a tendency to overrate the portents of the Hungarian eruption; and several European journalists thought they were hearing the first trumpets of the final battle. But the Continent remained entirely free of the phenomenal contortion that disabled a few American and British observers: There was, after the Hungarian upheaval, not a single voice to be heard on the Continent that recommended, in the face of the recent Hungarian experience, the neutralization or the disarmament of West Germany. On the contrary, the savage Soviet intervention in Hungary immediately overcame the last vestiges of French opposition to the predominance of German troops in NATO. The German General Speidel's promotion to command all NATO contingents was now sponsored by Western Europe's Socialists; and the German Social Democracy which, after all, wants to win the next elections, immediately dropped its defeatist campaign against NATO.

Yet in America, or so it seemed, the reaction was perversely different. After a moment of embarrassment over the Soviet uncouthness in Hungary, the American Left soon resumed its propaganda for "a constructive dialogue with Moscow." But now, for the first time in recent history, proposals for a "bold settlement" with the Soviet Union were also advanced on the American Right. And this, to Continental observers, was one of the unnerving factors.

It was by no means the only one. Far more impressive than such an unexpected loss of nerve and poise on the American Right was the sudden activity of all those professional international busybodies who can be relied upon to get hyperactive whenever Moscow engages in a major diplomatic maneuver. (The CIA could name them all, of course, were not that U.S. agency itself so deeply involved in unsavory schemes.) For instance, the notorious brain trust of the British Labor Party, always open to Soviet "stimulation," advanced through Mr. Gaitskell the now famous Khrushchev formula—"neutralization of West Germany," etc.

But even more alarming to the Bonn Government was the recall of Dr. Conant as U.S. Ambassador to West Germany. It shocked the Adenauer team that such a change of guard should be executed at a moment when European tensions were approaching new heights. The announcement that Mr. David Bruce had been picked as Dr. Conant's successor did the rest. For Mr. Bruce is labelled, in Europe, as America's most conspicuous diplomatic supporter of the "third force concept." As U.S. Ambassador to France in the late forties, he blocked General de Gaulle's otherwise irresistible ascendance and, on the whole, encouraged the Leftist illusion all over Europe that it is the Continent's fate to reorganize itself as a neutral region separating the U.S. from the Soviets.

Bonn, at any rate, grew even more suspicious of the alleged change in U.S. policy when the section of the U.S. press that is habitually "guided" by the State Department began to gossip that Dr. Conant was no longer "useful": he had (or so implied the State Department journalists) identified himself much too much with Dr. Adenauer's "rigid" policy towards the Soviet Union, neglecting the Ollenhauer camp which was willing to consider German "neutrality."

On top of this, the Adenauer team had grave misgivings over General Gruenther's retirement as NATO chief. Rightly or wrongly, General Gruenther is celebrated, all over Europe, as Mr. Eisenhower's *alter ego;* and, so long as he remained at the helm of NATO, Mr. Eisenhower would not conceivably be willing to leave him (and Europe) in the lurch. But, by the same token, General Gruenther's withdrawal from NATO had to be interpreted as another grave symptom of Mr. Eisenhower's fatal change of mind.

To Europeans, who are learned victims of clever cabals, all this looked like a sinister puzzle—and it all began to assume recognizable shape. The collapse of the U.S. delegation to the UN during the crucial days of the Hungarian eruption; the subsequent hectic U.S. activity in the UN, against Britain and France, in cooperation with the Soviet bloc; the concerted trial balloons, simultaneously going up in London and Washington, that advocated a "settlement" (and, mind you, trial balloons went up even on the American Right); the changes in the highest posts of American command in Europe; the cunningly prearranged excursion of Mr. Alsop to Moscow, to act as the receptacle for Khrushchev's historic interview—the timing of all this seemed, to Bonn, much too pat to signify mere coincidence. It seemed to indicate an international cabal-in-the-making.

And so, Dr. von Brentano went to Washington. Mr. Dulles, it appears, has reassured him that America does not intend to trade its alliance with a safely rearmed West Germany for a Soviet "withdrawal" from Eastern Germany. But the Continent's shock over the ambiguities of Mr. Eisenhower's unprincipled improvisations abroad is so serious that, to be checked, it may require more than a soothing Dulles soliloquy.

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

TV Monopoly

It hasn't made headlines and there are no bills pending in Congress, but it looks as if the question of monopoly or tendency to monopoly in television will soon make page one and foster investigations and motivate legislation. About a year ago Senator Bricker released an analysis bearing on network monopoly in TV broadcasting. In his opinion CBS and NBC are a couple of big bad wolves intent on eliminating lesser competition, after which one might conceivably devour the other.

Very quietly, but with a growing interest, the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Pentagon and quite a few members of the House and Senate are studying the Bricker accusations and supporting evidence from collateral sources, including prominent producers of TV sets. Here is a direct quote from a top executive of one of the largest manufacturing units in the country:

"NBC and CBS so completely dominate TV advertising and top programming that they have the power of life or death over independent stations. NBC or CBS affiliates receive a substantial percentage of network advertising. They prosper, but the others fail in increasing numbers.

"Independently owned stations must dance to the network tune. Programs and public utterances are carefully tailored to what the networks want, because the independents know that the networks can cancel at any time and push them into the have-not class....

"The net result of this situation gives the two men who control NBC and CBS almost absolute control of what is seen and heard on TV.... A similar situation would never be tolerated in the daily press but TV, a most potent force in influencing public opinion, is a mass medium not only for hog wash but also for brain wash....

"Subscription TV would be good for every community. . . . It would mean economic success for local stations, provide an outlet for local opinion, and the customer would always be right, and treated accordingly, instead of being the victim of whatever the master minds of NBC and CBS decide he's going to take and like, or else."

Most people are unaware that the U.S. military establishment has complete control over Channel One. But who turns the dial to Channel One? In Washington, it's Four and Nine, NBC and CBS, for the majority of viewers. There are individuals who refuse to render obeisance to Four and Nine, but the bulk of the viewers are hooked—to Four and Nine.

Will Rogers is credited with the statement that anybody too lazy to turn off a radio set deserved whatever he got. For my money that goes triple for TV and I'll supplement the advice of the Oklahoma cowboy who made good, to this extent: you don't have to turn it on. Regardless of those who loathe or love TV, there's a storm brewing for the big two.

Well, Mr. Beck?

Whether Dave Beck will comply with a Senate subpoena, *duces tecum*, is still in doubt and whether, under the questioning of the Senate Rackets Investigating Committee, he will "come clean," as it is known in the vernacular, is a matter of interest. To the best of my knowledge and belief, it was not a Communist, but a Cabinet member of unquestioned patriotism, despite a penchant for grand larceny, who was first to use the escape route of the Fifth Amendment before a committee of Congress. Albert B. Fall, one-time Secretary of the Interior and still remembered in West Texas and New Mexico as an exceedingly tough *hombre* who could face a Colt .45 and dare the holder to shoot, refused to answer questions of the Walsh Teapot Dome investigating committee on the now all too familiar plea that an honest answer would "tend to incriminate or degrade." Nevertheless, Mr. Fall went to prison.

As an interlude the McClellan Committee is providing considerable edification to the dues-paying members of the Bakers' Union. It seems that the President of the Bakers' Union hit the till for a few G-notes for the love of a blue-eyed brunette with a record of seven convictions as a prostitute. It is just possible that before this investigation is over, a great many of what Westbrook Pegler calls the "working stiffs" are going to resent paying for but not enjoying the perquisites and diversions of their betters.

Have You Heard about Ghana?

Official Washington and its far-flung officials, like Mr. Nixon, did their best to make the "liberation" of Ghana sound like the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Unfortunately the citizenry in the nation's capital and elsewhere are almost as jaded with celebrations by proclamation as they are with Pyrrhic victories. You could walk down Pennsylvania Avenue, as I did, and play inquiring reporter and find that nine good men out of ten didn't know Ghana from Guinea and couldn't care less.

For the record, however, the Negro nation of Ghana, "liberated from the British thralldom," is about the size of Minnesota, produces cocoa, diamonds, gold, bauxite and once upon a time, slaves. Ghana is now a member of the British Commonwealth.

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah describes himself as a "Marxist Socialist." President Eisenhower sent congratulations to the government and people of Ghana, and the State Department announced recognition of the new sovereign state.

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The Open Question

Nature of the Enemy

FRANK S. MEYER

In two recent columns of The Third World War. ("Communist or Russian?" and "Definitions and Distinctions"), Mr. Burnham has begun to develop a position on Communism which explicitly goes beyond the level of strategy and comes to grips with major principled questions. It was my belief, as I attempted to make clear in these pages, that a fundamental position was implicit in his earlier strategic proposals; and I welcome his clarification.

In the first place, it would seem that Mr. Burnham has repudiated the conception he, together with most hard anti-Communists, has long held of the nature of the Soviet power-complex, namely: that its dynamic essence and its danger to the United States arises from its Communist character. Now, answering his own question: "Is the Soviet state structure . . . primarily *Russian* or *Communist*? It is both, of course, but which has priority?"—he replies: ". . . the relative weight of the two elements shifts from time to time, with now one and then the other predominant."

Mr. Burnham, of course, has every right to change his mind, provided either that new evidence comes to hand or that he finds defects in his previous thought processes. It would have been helpful had he indicated to us what has induced him to do so. Lacking that information, however, it is only possible to restate briefly the considerations which have led me, as they have led most hard anti-Communists, and as they formerly led Mr. Burnham, to a firm conclusion: it is the Communist element that is the decisive shaping force in the "Soviet state structure," in the same way that the soul is the decisive shaping force in a man's being, although the mode of his operation may depend upon specific characteristics such as a musical ear or a surgeon's fingers.

The first and most obvious indication that the essence of Sovietism is not Russian, but Communist, is the immense rapidity with which Soviet power has spread in the forty years of its existence. From precarious control of an enclave between Petrograd and Moscow, it has grown till it rules an empire of 900 million people, and, beyond the borders of its physical sway, challenges with its ideology and influence the ancient religions of mankind in every corner of the world. Nothing like it has been seen since the decades after the Hegira, when Moslem power and Moslem influence spread like wildfire from a corner of the Arabian desert to become the dominant power from the Mediterranean to the borders of China and the Islands of the Indies.

Secondly, there is the factor so often ignored by our sociological institutes which—for themselves, for the State Department, and for the armed forces—study so assiduously and so aridly the meaning of Communism: the express, explicit ideology of *all* of the leaders of this movement, on all five continents of the earth, is the militantly atheistic religion of Marxism-Leninism. No mystical doctrine of an Orthodox Muscovite Third Rome, no nationalistic nineteenth-century mystique of Pan-Slavism, can explain the conquest by Soviet power of Buddhist-Confucian-Taoist China, can enlighten us as to the ideological appeal of Moscow to the rising power-hungry intellectuals of the Arabic world, or can make intelligible the Communist lodgement in Brazil or Guatemala—or, for that matter, in New York or Chicago or Washington.

Can one imagine a devotee of the Third Rome penetrating our Department of State, going to jail on a charge of perjury with the devotion of a martyr? Can one imagine a Pan-Slavic missionary interesting, intriguing, and influencing the policies of a Dutch-patroon President of the United States?

It is true that one's conclusions upon the question of Communism or Russianism must be founded in a judgment about reality, that is, in an empirical and dialectical inquiry, not in a moral judgment. But the conclusions reached have a profound consequence not merely for practical and strategic purposes; they deeply affect the application to reality of moral principle. (If, as Mr. Burnham says, "the refusal to make distinctions concerning the actual world because it fails to conform to the Ideal is an offshoot of the seductive and perennial Manichean heresy," the subordination of moral principle, of the "Ideal," to reality, the substitution of pragmatic expediency for prudential application of principle, is *the* modern heresy.)

If the Soviet threat is primarily a Russian threat, then it can be handled by civilized men as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries handled their disputes—by diplomacy, by pressures, by limited warfare conducted by enemies who nevertheless share a universe of moral discourse. Then it is possible to fight, and live at peace, and fight again, if need be, for limited objectives. That is, then it is possible to coexist with the enemy. Then it is, indeed, deeply immoral to think in any other terms than those of coexistence.

But if the essential dynamic of the enemy is an ideology directed towards the destruction of religion, of freedom, of the very kind of moral being we regard man to be; and if those who hold that ideology are pledged by its very nature to a crusade to make the world over in its image—then it is immoral to base long-term policy on anything less than the destruction of that ideology by all means in our power.

And, *in these circumstances,* I would have to say that I regard Mr. Burnham's statement that "This is not a moral . . . problem," and his further statement that, "if morality enters in at all on this point, it is immoral for one nation *not* to try to coexist peacefully with every other —no matter what their regimes," as inadequate to the demands, not only of anti-Communist strategy, but of moral principle as well.

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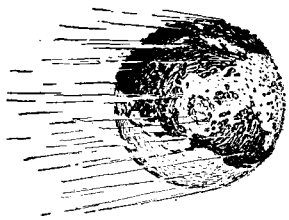

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Signs and Portents

History is not a bloodless abstraction, but the acts of men. Always, as if intuitively, men find external symbols to embody and express the meaning of what they do. Trifling as these symbols may seem alongside the massive analyses of scientific historians, they are not neglected by those who wish to understand the course of events—past, passing and to come.

Last October's Hungarian revolution was a pageant of symbols: the blaze of the newspaper torches that replaced the police-darkened lights on Parliament Square; the cutting of the hammer and sickle emblem from the heart of the Hungarian flag; the shooting out of the neon red stars on the roofs of official buildings; the surge of the crowd to topple the huge metal statue of Stalin, which did not fall until the steel legs crumbled under the blue fire of acetylene torches; the burning of the Communist papers and tracts; the pealing of the decade-silenced church bells; the lighted candles on All Souls' Eve.

A place can become a symbol: as when Chamberlain journeyed to Munich, not Hitler to Oxford; or Roosevelt to Yalta, not Stalin to Miami. In cases like these the place of meeting is often the plainest gauge of the real political equilibrium. The symbols may be of almost any order; Peter the Great's shaving of Russian beards, the Young Turks' abandonment of the fez; the Boston Tea Party.

A Western Journey

I recall this habitual translation of history into symbol as context for noting a recent event: the visit of Chou En-lai, Premier of Red China, to Budapest and Warsaw. Our knowledge of the facts is meager, too sparse for assured formal conclusions. But interpreted as a symbol, Chou's journey immediately suggests a prophetic, almost an apocalyptic, dimension.

Budapest and Warsaw are the capital cities of ancient nations which—whatever their present captive status—are part of Europe, Western and Christian. Chou is a leader and official representative of an Asian people of a non-Christian civilization alien to Europe and the West.

Chou came to Poland and Hungary not as a traveler or trader or suppliant or even negotiator. Nor, though he had stopped first in Moscow, was he appearing as a mere agent of the Kremlin. The Russian leaders had begged Chou's help, not given him orders.

Chou was actively intervening in the public affairs of Europe, and this he was doing not as an individual but as spokesman for a power and a civilization that are Asian and non-Christian. And in all history, this has never happened before.

Little Acorns

Nothing very much came of this first active intervention of the East in the affairs of the West. In both Budapest and Warsaw, Chou stuck close to official circles. Apparently he urged on them the need to preserve the strategic solidarity of the Communist bloc, and to avoid the kind of disruption that had come in Hungary and been threatened in Poland. He did not argue for total subordination to Moscow in the Stalinist manner, but merely for recognition of the strategic fact that the Soviet Union is the Communist bloc's original and presently strongest power, upon which the bloc's survival first of all depends. Moscow has therefore the right to the principal voice in the international Communist command.

The joint communiqué issued at the end of Chou's Warsaw visit gave no clue to how his interventions had been received. Because he saw in Budapest only the Kádár puppets, who are wholly isolated from the nation, his Hungarian visit was empty. So, in specific historical consequence, nothing much happened. But the symbol remains. For centuries Europe has intervened in Asia. Now Asia intervenes in Europe.

There is an irony in the progress of Communism. Its doctrine came out of the West (Germany, France, Britain). But Communism entered historical reality as a scourge of the West, in Eurasian, Byzantine Russia. Do the portents of the past year suggest that Communism will begin to distintegrate on the European marches, as the center of its dense field of force moves deeper into Asia?

An Asian View

Asians ordinarily think in longer time cycles than are natural to Western minds. Many Asians estimate Communism in a mode unfamiliar to us, and from this estimate draw the political conclusions that we often find so antipathetic.

They believe that the great fact of the twentieth century is the reawakening of Asia. They judge Communism to be a transitory episode, and see it above all as a weapon apt for use in the first stages of Asia's rebirth: the casting off of European political control ("imperialism"), and the destruction of Western (Christian) civilization—the civilization of white men (the Russians in due course among them). These accomplished, the Asian civilizations can go on to decide which of them—India, China, Japan, Islam—will be predominant in the coming Asian world order.

This may all be illusion and fantasy. So far, on the shorter time span, it seems to be Communism that is using China, rather than China, Communism. Communism, at the moment, looks more likely to block than to enhance Indonesia's—or India's—chances in whatever new order. But it is a readily confirmable fact that many Asians view coming world history in these terms.

The simple statistics of world population prove, incidentally, that if the Western mind submits to the egalitarian doctrine of Liberalism and Socialism, then the outcome foreseen by this Asian theory is mathematically inevitable.

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THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

The Case of the Fifth-Amendment Professors

The courts of last resort of California, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have recently grappled with the Supreme Court's decision in April of last year in *Slochower* v. *Board of Higher Education of the City of New York*. In that case the Court, five to four, held unconstitutional Section 903 of the City Charter providing that any employee who invoked the Fifth Amendment before a duly authorized investigating body automatically lost his job. Slochower had invoked the Amendment before the Senate Internal Security Committee.

A majority of the Court interpreted Section 903 to mean that the invocation of the Amendment gave rise to a conclusive inference of guilt. Such an inference, the majority said, lacked due process—no consideration was given to mistake, inadvertence, legal advice "conscientiously given, wisely or unwisely," or remoteness of the period.

But the majority opinion distinguished a prior decision of the Court holding that a board of education was entitled to "elicit information necessary to determine the qualifications of its employees" (*Garner* v. *Los Angeles Board of Education*).

The dissenting judges thought that Section 903 merely required municipal employees to cooperate with investigating bodies, a requirement they regarded as reasonable.

No Affirmative Proof

At the time of the Slochower decision a number of disciplinary proceedings against teachers who had invoked the Amendment before congressional committees were wending their way through various state courts. None of those in which decisions have been announced in the last few months involved automatic dismissal statutes like Section 903. The proceedings had been commenced on formal charges, and the teachers had been given a hearing, but in no case did the school authorities offer affirmative proof of conspiratorial activity other than the invocation of the Amendment.

In the California case the Court held the dismissal improper because consideration had not been given to the "sufficiency of the employee's reasons" for invoking the Amendment. The Court remanded the case to the trial court for that purpose.

The decision was four to three. The dissenting judges found themselves unable to understand the majority decision and upheld the dismissal on the ground that invocation of the Amendment impaired public confidence in the employee.

In the Pennsylvania case it appeared that after the teachers' testimony before the congressional committee their superintendent had asked the same questions and had received the same refusals. The Court sustained the dismissal, not on the basis of the congressional committee episode, but on the ground that refusal to answer the superintendent's questions was insubordination. The Court had these wholesome things to say:

"The right of a superintendent of schools to re-evaluate a teacher's fitness to be retained in his position is inherent and need not be expressly authorized by statute or local rule or regulation... While the tenure provisions of the School Code protect teachers from political or other arbitrary interferences, they were not intended to insulate them from proper inquiry as to their fitness... [The teacher] had the duty to cooperate by answering freely and frankly. His defiant conduct in refusing to respond justified his dismissal...."

In the New Jersey case the dismissals were overruled on the ground that the teachers had not been given an "opportunity to explain"—a rather narrow interpretation of the hearing—and the case was remanded for further consideration. At the second hearing, the Court said: "We have no doubt that in examining into their continued fitness to teach the Newark school authorities may interrogate the appellant school teachers with respect to their present and past association with the Communist Party and are entitled to full and frank disclosures."

Although this judicial recognition of the right of school authorities to question their employees freely is a step forward, there is the danger that lack of information may prevent local officials from detecting perjury; moreover, state district attorneys are not as well able to prosecute in this type of case as federal law officers.

Liberals on "the Privilege"

Again, the standard for public employees is indeed a low one if those who invoke the Amendment without persuasive explanation are to be continued in their jobs. That pleading the privilege gives rise to an adverse inference and that public employees whose conduct or qualifications are questioned should be candid, are principles that have been repeatedly asserted, among others by those who are often praised by the Liberal intelligentsia.

Thus Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, the distinguished President of the Fund for the Republic, once maintained, "Silence under accusation shows guilt, unless under the circumstances a reply was not to be expected."

The Board of Overseers of Harvard University has found an "inference of guilt which the use of the Fifth Amendment creates as a matter of common sense." And Franklin Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, removed Sheriff Thomas Farley for failing to explain his personal finances—a subject not more important than membership in a conspiracy on behalf of a foreign power. The Governor said:

"The stewardship of public officers is a serious and sacred trust. They are so close to the means for private gain that in a sense not true of all private citizens their personal possessions are invested with a public importance in the event their stewardship is questioned. One of their deep obligations is to recognize this, not reluctantly or with resistance, but freely."

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Stout Tyrannus

A few months ago, as I reported in this page, the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors published the findings of the AAUP's academic freedom committee on the case of Professor Frank Richardson, at the University of Nevada. Anyone who has happened to read my book *Academic Freedom* will remember, I think, that the treatment of Dr. Richardson by Dr. (of Education) Minard Stout, president of the university, was perhaps the most shocking abuse of a university president's power in recent years. Dr. Richardson temperately and good-naturedly stood up for decent standards in a university; for that, President Stout discharged him. Well, the AAUP *Bulletin* published in full, in its last number, the amazing dialogue between President Stout and Professor Richardson, which is printed in part in my book. One has only to read that conversation to realize that an ignorant bully can become president of a state university in this country.

Although reinstated by order of the Supreme Court of Nevada, Dr. Richardson now has left Nevada for the University of Washington. The Richardson case continues to agitate the University of Nevada, nevertheless; and presumably the new Nevada Legislature, now in session, will take up the questions of President Stout's administration and of the need for prudent reform at the university.

At the time, nearly four years ago, when Mr. Stout arbitrarily dismissed Dr. Richardson, the Legislature appointed a commission to inquire into the state of the university. That commission engaged some well-known Western professors to draw up a report, and this report was completed last October. Dr. Dean McHenry, professor of political science at UCLA, was chairman of the fourteen investigators. The McHenry Report is a very interesting and valuable document, which the members of every state's board of university regents ought to read.

Although this Report makes every effort to find something kind to say about Stout's administration, in general its 150,000 words confirm what the Report itself describes as the indictment by Stout's critics. Mr. Stout

> . . . dismissed faculty member with tenure, whose reinstatement was ordered by the Supreme Court; curtailed faculty self-government system; caused the departure from the faculty of some of Nevada's ablest teachers; more than doubled the cost of the university to the state without comparable increase in enrollment; increased administrative costs by bringing in high-salaried new deans and administrators; launched new enterprises for which need has not been demonstrated; discriminated in salary and promotions against those who would not bow to his will; failed to win the confidence of large sectors of students and alumni; contributed to the low state of faculty morale.

And the Report discloses that President Stout has unblushingly continued to reward his adherents and to punish members of the faculty who had supported Dr. Richardson. In 1956-57, for instance, those members of the faculty who toadied to the president in the Richardson affair received, on the average, salary increases of $2,144; while the supporters of Dr. Richardson, on the average, had their salaries increased only in the amount of $1,443. The Report is critical of one of Stout's pet boondoggles, a new College of Education, wildly proliferating courses; and Dr. McHenry and his associates recommend that some checks be imposed upon this lusty educational brat.

At last fall's election, the candidate most thoroughly opposed to Stout's administration was elected to the Board of Regents with a thumping majority; so now two members of that board are pronouncedly anti-Stout, and there is hope that the president's tyranny over the university may be undone before long. Mr. Stout has already secured his retreat by obtaining a full professorship, with tenure, in his own creation, the College of Education.

Now this person Minard Stout—until greatness was thrust upon him, the principal of a high school in Minnesota—would have gone far in the university world, no doubt, if only he had not been so remarkably imprudent and belligerent. Had he spoken softly, he might have thumped whomever he liked with his big stick, and probably there would have been no protest from the Legislature or the AAUP or anyone else with influence. His schemes for lowering the university's entrance-requirements and for saddling Nevada with a congeries of educational extravagances are common enough among the presidents of state universities, nowadays. President Stout, I suspect, knows little Latin and less Greek, and has small notion of what the word *hybris* means; yet words that are ignored take their vengeance, and so Stout's overweening arrogance, his *hybris,* has made him despised throughout the country, and may yet culminate in what it should, according to the canons of Greek tragedy: catastrophe.

This wondrous example of everything that is wrong with the educationist administrators who still have our public educational system by the throat—this President Stout—actually was selected, after the Richardson affair had flamed up, to head an official American committee to go to Libya and investigate the possibility of establishing an American-style University of Libya. Who selected him? Just whom you might expect: Mr. Harold Stassen. Stout did not actually go to Libya, for which the Senussi may thank Allah and Professor Richardson: instead, embarrassed by protests against his appointment, he sent his dean, a being loyal to great Stout in all things. If ever we begin to subsidize an American-style University of Libya, I trust Congress will first read the McHenry Report, and make sure that nothing of the principles or the methods of Minard Stout clings to the institution.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

In Memoriam: Charles Van Doren

The personable Mr. Charles Van Doren, who has made piles of money on sensationally useless information, was himself a kind of windfall for the professional optimists. And I am putting this in the past tense because, in the meanwhile, even they must have learned to comprehend that what first looked, to some, like an outburst of learning on the TV screen was but a mirage. Yet for a while Mr. Van Doren seemed to prove (to *Time*, for instance) that, given a break, education may still catch up with that infernal machine. Why? Because (we were told by the conforming optimists) the nice young man demonstrated that knowledge is more important than money. And how did he prove this? By making, with a display of knowledge, oodles of money.

Now this (as Professor Van Doren might have pointed out on TV, had he been allowed to promote knowledge) is a perfect example of what educated people mean by fallacious redundancy. But so starved for evidence are the optimists that they grabbed Mr. Van Doren the very moment he made (unintentionally, to be sure) pathetic fools of them: As reasonable men should have known from the beginning of the prank, it will take education a long time to recover from the offensive beating the boyish professor has given it in forty million American homes over the last several weeks.

For, in the pre-Van Doren era, that unfortunate freak, the "average man," had no acquaintance with, and therefore a healthy respect for, underpaid learning. Now he has been gratuitously introduced to it by Professor Van Doren: and the only kind of respect Mr. Van Doren's freakish parody of learning (namely: a completely irrelevant memory for odd facts) can evoke in the "average man" is envious admiration for a vaudeville performer who, by recalling the names of five little islands in the East Atlantic, wins $143,000 from the makers of Geritol.

But if the earning capacity of "learning" is its real claim to respect, I'd rather be the producer of Geritol than a Columbia professor. For not only does that presumably unerudite gentleman make far more money than even Mr. Van Doren, he also hires the wretched drudges who dig up the facts which a nervously sweating Professor Van Doren may or may not recall. I am, in short, prepared to bet my chaste income against Mr. Van Doren's lush resources that his net effect on the unwashed subconscious of the nation will be an even more passionate worship of the well-known bitch-goddess, Success. (By naming the author of that phrase, I might have broken the bank.)

The nation is, in fact, at this very moment engaged in an appallingly vehement ritual at the feet of that heathen goddess, and the patterns for this sinister service have been set by Mr. Van Doren. Underprivileged possessors of retentive memories are crawling out of the darkest recesses smack into the nation's living rooms. You can't turn on the TV set without learning who built the Taj Mahal in whose memory, and which dentist used ether for the first time as an anesthetic. In the long run, this binge may have the salutary effect that more and more people just won't turn on their TV sets. But I doubt it. There is an eerie fascination in seeing a manifestly uneducated man like Mr. Teddy Nadler recall, on the "$64,000 Question," the fine print on any given page of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, particularly since this irrelevant acumen is rewarded with an amount of cash Mr. Nadler, had he been educated, would not have seen in a lifetime.

Or consider Mr. Whatshisname on "The Big Surprise." (I have forgotten his name, for my memory for names is notoriously terrible; all I have retained from my exposure to learning is an education.) That gentleman, at any rate, struck me as a person altogether untouched by grace. My compassionate heart went out to him. But, had I been still untouched by learning, my sympathy with Mr. Whatshisname, who is so utterly ill at ease and so unresponsive to life, would have taught me to leave school tomorrow and live happily ever after.

The point is not so much that poor Elvis Presley is hardly remembered by a fickle TV audience which is now being taught the rewards of total recall. Rather, the important point is that the "communicators" (which is what the hucksters of televised mass entertainment currently call themselves) are never so offensive as when they boldly pet education. Left alone, learning may survive even the age of television; after all, it has survived many previous phases of "enlightenment"! But when it is forced into the foamy Procrustes Bed of television, education will inescapably be reduced to selling pajamas. If St. Augustine is ever picked for a TV program, you may be sure that *The City of God* will promote Levittown. For such are the laws of the mass civilization jungle.

At this point I find myself confronted with the question unfailingly shot at any critic who takes his vocation seriously and calls decay, decay: What is the point in fighting what you consider an irresistible trend? Why even bother with eloquence if you are shouting at a tide? In short, I find myself confronted with the question I did not mention last week in my "Lament on A Drought."

My answer, if not convincing, is at least simple. The true is true, and the beautiful, beautiful, not because they will prevail, but because they *are* true and beautiful. It is the conservative's function to defy degeneracy, not so much when it blights the surface as when it attacks the roots. The social forces that make decay triumph over values may be invincible, but they are certainly not impressive. (Or, as the Viennese used to say, "the situation is hopeless but not serious.") The conservative *always* fights on the losing side; and it does not disturb him a bit. For nowhere is it so true as in the realm of values that the created, in order to live, must die. Which (to get down a notch or two) means that a truly conservative criticism of television will be remembered when nobody recalls the names of the freaks who achieved a fleeting notoriety by recalling the names of freaks.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Consumed or Reanimated?

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The second installment of Van Wyck Brooks' literary autobiography is called *Days of the Phoenix: The Nineteen-Twenties I Remember* (Dutton, $3.95). While the title is obviously symbolical, the reader is at a loss to know just what the "phoenix days" were in Mr. Brooks' own mind. Does the author think the twenties were a period of fire in which the bird was consumed, only to rise again? Or were they a time in which the phoenix was already putting forth his brilliantly renewed plumage?

The reason for asking such puzzling questions derives from the double focus of the book. Part of the story which Mr. Brooks has to tell centers on the vital literary movement of the time, a vastly experimental one in which there seemed to be room for a thousand harmonies and almost as many dissonances. It was the time of the "lost generation," but it was also a time of "makers and finders" (to adapt an old Brooks title). If Mr. Brooks were merely engaged here in writing about the human figures who surrounded him in the twenties, when he lived in Westport, Conn., and worked in New York, one could be almost certain that the phoenix was in process of coming alive again out of the ashes of the Genteel Tradition of the late nineteenth century. But as one reads on in *Days of the Phoenix* one is more and more aware of a coming shadow. At the very end of the decade Mr. Brooks experienced what he calls his *crise a quarante ans,* a period of black despondency when he came to doubt the worth of his own work. The phoenix that is the latter-day Brooks, author of *The Flowering of New England,* did not arise from the ashes of personal despair until the middle 1930's, and by then the creativity of the twenties had given way to the wastes of the proletarian cults.

So the symbolism of the book must remain confused, perhaps hopelessly so. The trouble with *Days of the Phoenix,* speaking from the standpoint of logical clarity, is that Mr. Brooks walked through the twenties without perceiving that artistic freedom was already there for the taking, in the midst of a "business civilization" which Mr. Brooks and his friends were constantly deriding. Throughout the decade Mr. Brooks was preoccupied with a dilemma whose horns were represented by his own two books, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* and *The Pilgrimage of Henry James.* As Brooks saw it, Mark Twain had stayed at home in America and capitulated to commercialism and prudence, while Henry James had gone abroad and dried up. What, then, should a young artist do? Mr. Brooks' answer was solid: the young artist should stay home and fight to make his own values prevail. That is what Emerson and Thoreau had done in their day, and that is what Brooks and his good friends, Lewis Mumford, Waldo Frank and Randolph Bourne, had decided to do even before the twenties were upon us.

As one who grew up in the Brooks-Bourne-Frank-Mumford tradition, I have always thought the Brooks answer was the correct one. But the question of the artist's or critic's values is something else again. Brooks himself spent the earlier part of the twenties on the old *Freeman* of Albert Jay Nock. Since Nock's motto for his editors was "Do what you like," he encouraged all of his young men and women to ride their hobbies. So, for two years, Brooks spoke up for socialism on the last page of the *Freeman* "with never a word from Nock that this doctrine was abhorrent to the species of anarchist that he was himself, opposed to all state control. . . ." Though he has much to say about Nock as a stylist and a "tonic" influence, Brooks looks back on his old editor as a perverse creature who had no faith in the mass of men. In thus dismissing him, Brooks misses the whole point of Nock's political philosophy, which is that the masses come out worse under state control than they do if they are left to get along as they can, whether by proving themselves as individuals or by relying on the voluntary aid of others.

Nock disliked many things in the America of the twenties. He disliked Deweyite education, he disliked the whole foofawraw of commercial advertising and professionalized "public relations." As Brooks says, "nothing in a country mattered to Nock except the quality of its life—for him banks, telephones and railroads only counted in so far as they contributed to this; and it was his insistence on the question of improving our quality of life that made the *Freeman* so exciting. . . ." But this man who was so insistent upon quality had the clear perception that all of the freedoms, whether artistic, cultural, political or economic, go together. The Brooks - Bourne - Mumford - Frank school, which was so insistent on artistic and cultural freedom, never got down to contemplating the wholeness and integrity of Nock's philosophical system. Hence the values which they preached became more and more confusing as the troubles of the world became more and more economic and political.

In retrospect, the "crassness" of the "business civilization" of the twenties, which both Nock and Brooks lamented, must seem more and more of a surface phenomenon as the distance between us and those lively years increases. Babbitt-ridden or not, the America of those years touched young men and women by the dozens to artistic life. A Glenway

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Wescott might resent Wisconsin, a Kenneth Burke and a Malcolm Cowley might shudder at Pittsburgh, a Thornton Wilder might regard New Haven, Conn., as limited, but neither Wisconsin, nor Pennsylvania, nor Connecticut, held their young rebels to an eleventh commandment, "Thou shalt go into business." In running from America, the artists of Van Wyck Brooks' "days of the phoenix" unwittingly proved the freedom of a civilization which willingly permitted them the exodus, and even sent dollars to them to sustain them abroad. And, as Malcolm Cowley was later to notice, the America that let its young depart was ready to take them back again when Fascism put an end to conversations at the Rotonde and the Dome.

Mr. Brooks has a concrete mind, and he arrives at his conclusions by intuition, not by reasoned analysis. As he says about his early books, "I had always worked by following my nose." Because he has a concrete mind, he is much more convincing when he is following a line of action, or setting forth a scene, than when he is busy talking about the "perverseness" of Albert Jay Nock's politics or about a "Jeffersonianism" which he confuses with socialism. The pictures of people, as walking, talking individuals, in *Days of the Phoenix,* are brilliant. Such characters as Padraic and Mollie Colum, Hendrik Van Loon, Joel Spingarn, Lee Simonson, H. L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock himself are depicted with a good novelist's sensitivity to nuances of personality. There is a particularly magnificent portrait of Mr. Brooks' brother-in-law, John Francis Stimson, who went to Tahiti in 1912 and spent his life collecting Polynesian legends and compiling Tahitian dictionaries and grammars.

It was the derided civilization of the teens and the twenties which allowed these people to roam and to be so thoroughly and supremely individual. Doesn't that mean anything to Mr. Brooks, the "socialist"? I'd like to have an answer.

The Facts of Wealth

Pioneering in Big Business: History of the Standard Oil Company (N.J.) 1882-1911, by Ralph W. Hidy and Muriel E. Hidy. 839 pp. New York: Harper & Bros. $7.50

The Resurgent Years: History of the Standard Oil Company (N.J.) 1911-1927, by George Sweet Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton. 754 pp. New York: Harper & Bros. $7.50

The literary have rarely taken kindly to the businessman. A generation ago he was the "robber baron" in Theodore Dreiser's *The Titan,* Frank Norris' *The Octopus,* F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby,* John Dos Passos' *The Big Money* and Thomas W. Lawson's *Frenzied Finance.* In this generation he is an "operator" such as Cash McCall or Willis Wayde or the sinister tycoons in *The Power and the Prize* and *Executive Suite.*

The public's picture may now become less distorted. There are, for example, historian Allan Nevins' balanced studies of Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller. F. A. Hayek and T. S. Ashton have pricked the bubble that the Industrial Revolution was a chamber of horrors. Moreover, many big businesses are opening their corporate records. The past decade has seen business histories on Firestone, Goodyear, du Pont, Pabst, Gulf, U.S. Steel and big stores like Rich's of Atlanta and Neiman-Marcus of Dallas.

Ralph and Muriel Hidy's *Pioneering in Big Business* and George Gibb's and Evelyn Knowlton's *The Resurgent Years,* in this age of petroleum, are welcome histories of Jersey Standard. There emerges from them, in clear focus, the successful corporate entrepreneur, the allocator of resources, and the creator of public wealth.

The Hidys' work, completely documented and painstakingly factual, can undo some of the mischief caused by, among others, Ida Tarbell's free-wheeling but influential history of Jersey Standard. (Miss Tarbell charged, for example, that "The oil-carrying roads were bullied, persuaded or bribed into unjust discriminations." The Hidys searched in vain for proof of the allegation.)

The Hidys show how specialized committees, vertical integration, and reinvestment of profits—three prominent characteristics of the company—contributed to the building of this industrial giant. They end the volume with the Supreme Court decision of 1911 which broke up the Standard Oil complex into several companies. The Hidys relate that the decision resulted from public pressure by an electorate which "tended to identify size with monopoly, though there was no definition of what proportion of the market amounted to monopoly."

Gibb and Knowlton's scholarly *The Resurgent Years* traces the successful fight of Jersey Standard against the crippling effects of judicial dismemberment and of suspicious and frequently impassioned detractors in the literary, academic and political worlds. On December 31, 1912, total assets of Jersey Standard stood at $369,300,000. By December 31, 1927, assets had grown to a staggering $1,426,600,000—a position of preeminence among the industrial organizations in the world. This growth was largely financed by the plowing-back of profits, $1,110,440,000 for the 1912-1927 period, a third of which was returned to shareholders as dividend payments.

In his review of Volume II in the *New York Times,* Dean Louis Hacker of Columbia University criticizes this high level of profits and reinvestment as excessive. He asks: "Would the country not have been better served . . . and its whole structure more securely grounded if a larger proportion of earnings had gone into wages?" This criticism is striking inasmuch as Jersey Standard historically has been a high-wage company, generally paying better than going

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wage rates. Had Jersey Standard reduced its profits by still higher wages, capital accumulation would have suffered, the present oil shortage would have been much worse, and the consumers would have been that much poorer.

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Who Was F.D.R.?

The Roosevelt Myth, by John T. Flynn. Revised edition. 465 pp. New York: The Devin-Adair Company. $3.95

It cannot be said that Mr. Flynn is hostile to Roosevelt. On the contrary, it seems to me, he gives his subject the benefit of every doubt. The picture which emerges is not, as many would suppose, that of a powerful and ruthless mind carrying out systematically a comprehensive plan of evil. It is rather the character of a cunning and feckless child whose indulgence of his own whims is checked by no moral restraint. He had no plan, no goal other than his own amusement. Though perfectly ruthless, as delinquent children are ruthless, he was interested only in enjoying his perfect plaything, a whole nation. It perhaps never occurred to him that the marvelous toy was not his to use.

To enjoy his game he needed subordinates: fiction writers to produce the speeches that he recited with no little histrionic skill, propagandists to concoct lies in the manner of Herr Dr. Goebbels but with greater cunning, and agents of corruption to maintain his power by systematic bribery of the electorate. But he needed above all playmates, devisers of novelty and experiment, who would help him play with *his* toy and were equally uninhibited by moral responsibility. And playmates he found in abundance, ranging from neo-Buddhist quacks to the emissaries of Stalin.

But it was not, after all, a child in body who was playing. It was an aging man with a crippled body which demanded ever-increasing amounts of physical and mental inertia—a man who, in his third term, found his mind going blank or his lips muttering incoherently. And so by degrees the playmaster became himself a plaything—a half-living marionette twitching at the end of strings in the hands of the gang that he had summoned to play with him. This interpretation saves as much, perhaps, of Roosevelt's character as can be saved.

Mr. Flynn's carefully documented report on our national shame and disaster is not complete. He has reserved for a separate volume an account of the procedures whereby the Japanese were induced to destroy the American fleet at Pearl Harbor and the American Army in the Phillippines. And in pages crowded with detail there was, perhaps, no room for such details as the manner in which Roosevelt discovered in the Army's dust bin a mediocre and unsuccessful officer named Eisenhower, and made of him a tool and a hero. But there is not a page that will fail to stir the indignation of a man who is not himself morally dead. I only fear that the result may be more indignation over the past than concern over the present.

REVILO OLIVER

Ethics of Conspiracy

Conspiracy Among Generals, by Wilhelm von Schramm. Translated and edited by R. T. Clark. 215 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.95

Wilhelm von Schramm has written a book of very considerable interest. The story covers the events in France during the decisive German month that began July 20, 1944, the day of the unsuccessful attempt on Hitler's life.

The Generals' conspiracy was played out in three theaters: the *Fuehrer's* "Wolf's Lair" headquarters in East Prussia where Stauffenberg's teller mine inexplicably failed to finish Hitler; Berlin, where the plotters tried and failed to seize control of the command channels; and Paris. Von Schramm illuminates this third and least known part of the tragedy.

The conspirators in the West were led by Field Marshal Rommel, Commander in Chief West, and General von Stuelpnagel, Military Governor of France. Their task, once the assassination had taken place, was first to arrest the Gestapo, and second to negotiate an armistice with the Allies who were still penned in the Normandie beachhead. In exchange for the armistice Rommel would offer to withdraw behind the German border.

Two earlier scheduled executions of Hitler failed to come off. The delay was ruinous because three days before the Stauffenberg bomb exploded Rommel was critically wounded by a British strafing plane. His replacement, Gunther ("Clever Hans") von Kluge, although he had flirted with the conspirators in the past, put on the greatest performance of indecision since Hamlet; and in the showdown he refused to go along.

Von Stuelpnagel had already carried out the first part of the plan by locking up the Gestapo, but when von Kluge heard that Hitler had survived he ordered them released and reported everything to Hitler. Von Stuelpnagel still believed that the day could be carried in spite of the failures in the East, but it seems highly doubtful in retrospect whether he was right. With Roosevelt's fixation on Unconditional Surrender, and his fear of displeasing the "gallant Soviet ally," FDR probably would have refused to negotiate with either Rommel or von Kluge; and the conspiring generals were not considering a surrender in the field.

The conflict in the minds and consciences of these German officers between their oaths to Hitler and their Christian tradition is a basic theme of the book. The author sums it up in these words: "The coup of 1944 was . . . almost entirely an Army affair. The Army was the best guardian of tradition, and that, too, in the moral and religious sense of the word. Nor was it mere chance that the aristocracy contributed so much to the strength of the resistance. Consciously or unconsciously there lived in that aristocracy with its conscience and its chivalry, a heritage which was common to Europe and it was this that drove it to break with Hitler." It is ironic and even a little ridiculous that, after the coup had failed, these Christian gentlemen were still so controlled by Prussian military ethics that they all chose either suicide or the return to Berlin—where they were hanged.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

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To the Editor

The Suez Situation

With the publication of Miss Utley's piece on Egypt and the Middle Eastern situation [March 9] you have at last printed an informed comment on the subject. The fact is that you are not very well informed on relatively recent history. You say that (as far as Israel and the Middle Eastern situation are involved) we must look at the situation merely as it is today. This, of course, is the technique of the American university of our times. Their teaching of history, philosophy, the arts and the sciences is strictly a course in "current events," shaped by the stereotyped mentality and emotional apparatus of the modern academician. . . .

The opening paragraph of your last issue [March 9] gloatingly proclaims Israel's apparently successful defiance of the UN, the U.S., the USSR and all other powers that be and concludes that little Israel is, on that account alone, an heroic specimen of a nation activated solely by national self-interest, worthy to be emulated by the U.S. and President Eisenhower. Here you seem to be following the glib Adlai and his facile fellow, George Kennan.

Windsor, Vt. EFFINGHAM EVARTS

To the best of my knowledge Freda Utley is the only militant anti-Communist who, in her dissenting opinion, has ranged herself on the side of Nasser. This does not prove she is wrong; it does suggest that there may be blind spots in her reasoning.

One such blind spot, I think, is her failure to recognize the untenability, in morals, logic and international law, of the Egyptian attitude of being at war with Israel so far as hit-and-run guerrilla raids and blockade were involved and then posing as an innocent victim of "aggression" when Israel hit back.

Nor does anything in Miss Utley's article remove the stigma of odious hypocrisy from the United Nations and the Eisenhower Administration for pressure against Israel unaccompanied by corresponding pressure against Soviet genocide in Hungary. . . .

Nasser is not, so far as is known, a Communist. But Freda Utley has not been sparing in her criticism of other non-Communists, such as Prime Minister Nehru of India, who by their policies have advanced Soviet purposes. And Nasser's troublemaking intrigues, which have made him feared and hated in such Arab and African states as Iraq, Libya and Ethiopia, and his evident design to use the Suez Canal as a weapon of blackmail fit in perfectly with the larger purposes of Soviet strategy. Hence the consistent Soviet support for Nasser with arms, with votes in the UN, with threats of atomic warfare.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Cambridge, Mass.

NATIONAL REVIEW's articles on the Suez situation have been most excellent. . . . If the same situation arose in connection with the Panama Canal would we depend on the United Nations to defend our vital interests? And how would we feel if England and France, our allies in the Free World, took the same position as we did in the case of Suez?

Rome, Ga. J. A. DURAND

Sanctions

In the issue of March 9, the editorial writers of NATIONAL REVIEW, Willmoore Kendall and Freda Utley all join to make hash out of one of Eisenhower's few clear statements of principle: a) that there cannot be one law for the weak and another for the strong, and b) that because Russia doesn't give a hoot for international manners, this fact does not excuse Israel.

Eisenhower was wrong to imply that just because Russia is atheistic one cannot *demand* conduct in accordance with international morality —but he was dead right in saying it is foolish to *expect* such conformism by Russia to right conduct. . . . Since Eisenhower thinks Israel's actions deserve the imposition of sanctions, then he should demand that such sanctions be imposed against Russia. But to make the first conditional on the successful application of the second is to abdicate from the enforcement of all law and order simply because some criminal elements refuse to accede to it.

Sharon, Conn. F. R. BUCKLEY

Russian vs. Communist

In the February 9 issue ["The Third World War"] attempted to explain which was correct—Russian, or Communist, in referring to the USSR. To one uninformed, the article simply beclouded the issue farther.

Communism is not Russian. To those who know in detail Russian history, and particularly the history of what happened in 1917-1918, it is plainly not a Russian product.

. . . The Communist leaders have put forth tremendous efforts through their propaganda program to make the world believe that this godless, power-seeking movement is Russian. It tends to strengthen the "It-can't-happen-here" attitude, and makes it more likely that the Kremlin will be let alone in its job of infiltrating the rest of the world for its use and pleasure.

Sarasota, Fla. ISOBEL TROFIMOV

How to Find It

Letters to the Editor

(and everything else printed in NATIONAL REVIEW from November 1955 through December 1956) are listed by subject, writer and page, with cross-references, in the

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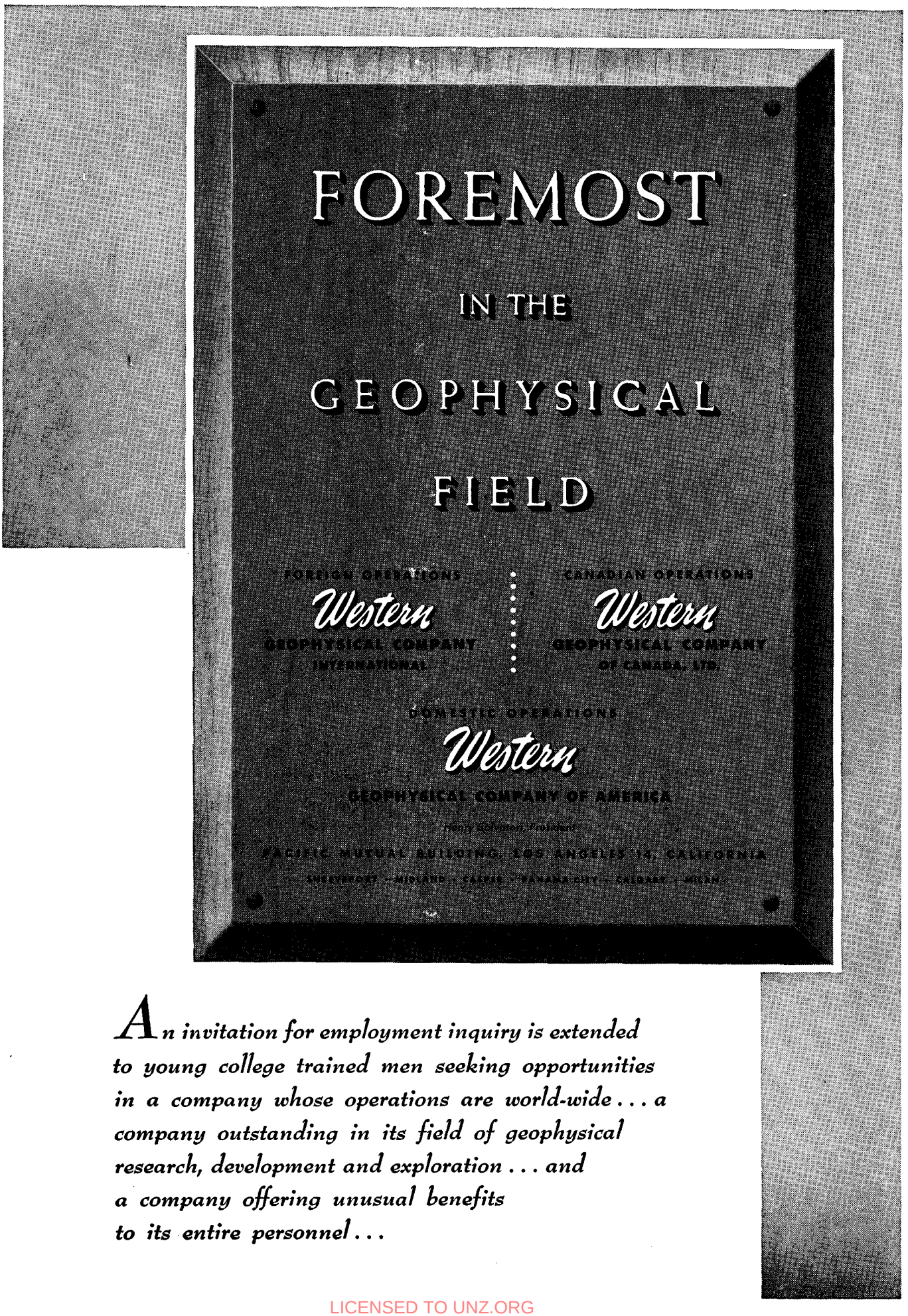

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